The Crusader

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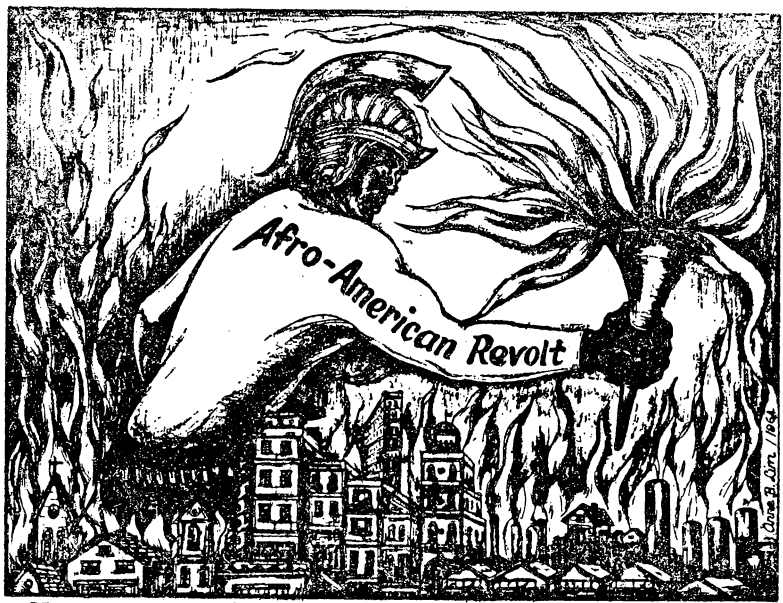
USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

When the brutally oppressed Afroamerican speaks of violent resistance to savage racial dehumanization, he reaps a whirlwind of reasons and causes why such a reaction



THE RACIST U.S.A. - THE TORCH OF RETRIBUTION!

supposedly is insane and suicidal. There is no end to the stereotyped polemics and heated opposition that beclouds a rational and objective discourse on the subject. From the

camps of the rabid white supremacy power structure, the fellow traveling white liberal and the mercenary running dog Uncle Tom, any individual who raises such a question is labeled a bloodthirsty crackpot, not worthy of social acceptance in America's "democratic and Christian" society. Proponents of the peaceful transition philosophy are quick to evoke the Gandhian theory of appealing to the conscience of the brutal oppressor and conquering him with the power of nonviolence and love.

These Gandhian Fabians inadvertently extol the success of Gandhi's peaceful revolution. Gandhi's nonviolent revolution may have guaranteed the ruling powers immunity from the violence of the masses, but it most certainly left the masses exposed to the violence of the oppressors. It served to assure that only the blood of the oppressed would flow.

The disciples of the Gandhi theory of peaceful transition elect to omit the latter stage of the continuing revolution. Revolution is a continuing process. It is essential, in appraising the success of the Indian Revolution, to consider the fact that Nehru, a disciple of Gandhi, dispaired of the love principle in extending liberation to Goa, Damao, and Diu. He refused to settle the Pakistan and the Chinese border questions peacefully as exemplified by the philosophy of nonviolence and love. Despite the Gandhian "power of love" theory's evolution to a "force of arms" theory, Afroamericans are still being drugged with the opium of the power of love and nonviolence.

The forces with a vested interest in the equilibrium of the U.S. master-slave society and their agents of deceit are more than willing to point out to our miserably exploited and dehumanized masses that violent resistance and self-defense will mean total annihilation and extermination. This is in itself an unwitting admission of the beastly nature of the oppressor. If such an oppressor is conceded to be capable of such and act of genocide, and history bears out his determination to maintain the status quo, where is the wisdom of the logic that he will tolerate the loss of his slave empire through peaceful means? The very essence of revolution is radical change. Revolution is necessitated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power, if it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary. If the oppressed controlled the means of power, a peaceful transition could possibly be executed by virtue of the will of the oppressed.

It is a universally known fact that the power structure of the racist USA is rabidly opposed to self-defense on the part of our oppressed people. They have a morbid fear of violent self-preservation on the part of U.S. freedom fighters. Is this because they love the dehumanized Negro? Is this because they are concerned with the welfare and well-being of our brutalized people? Is this because the American society is a pacifist society with an aversion for violence? No! A thousand times No! If the power structure had ever manifested any true concern for the welfare of our people (for whom it now professes great fear that we may commit suicide by fighting for the right to live as human beings) there would be no question of a violent liberation struggle. The question of peaceful persuasion, as a moral issue, is belied by its imperialist military actions against Cuba, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other liberated areas. Why is such a belligerently imperialist government not concerned about black Americans, and whites as well, being exterminated in a nuclear war? Was it not Kennedy, as the very head of the U.S. Government and white so-called liberal society, who said, "... We will live up to our commitments even if victory turns to ashes in our mouths?" Where were the panic preachers then, who express such great concern and alarm for the possibility of black Americans being exterminated in

violently resisting racial oppression? Is not a black American just as dead when killed in an international war of conquest as in a national struggle for liberation?

Why are the liberals, Uncle Toms and the power structure so hysterical about the possibility of massive violence erupting on the national human rights scene?

The fact is that the racist oppressors of the Afroamerican realize the insecurity and vulnerability of the most powerful military complex in the world to a violent internal struggle, wherein its horrible and sophisticated weapons of war will be ineffective. The internal defense of the U.S. is a possibility that money cannot buy. Only a change in the moral and social structure of the system offers security against an enraged oppressed citizenry. The USA is either unwilling or morally incapable of bearing the cost of this type of internal security. The race question is her Achilles heel, her Maginot line.

The power structure, the liberals and Uncle Toms are in essence asking Afroamericans to cooperate with the very forces that are opposing them. How can oppressed people, who seek liberation, afford to allow the enemy to dictate the method of struggle? How can a people, who are dead serious about their freedom, allow themselves to be duped into limiting themselves to the most ineffective method of struggle? It is not logical to accomodate the will of the oppressor, who has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and to wage a successful liberation struggle simultaneously.

The fact is that racist white America is not worried about the possibility of Negroes being exterminated. It is more worried about the loss of its privileged position in its racist caste society, its system of white supremacy and world domination. It is ironical that we note inherent inequality in the very method and tactics proposed to abolish the evil inequities of racism. The white barbaric racist is ceded a "white only" special privilege in the realm of all violence, both justified and unjustified. The execution of human perrogative is again straddled with a limitation placed on brutally oppressed people whose miserable existence is the very personification of limited human endeavor. A democratic or equilitarian society is devoid of minority or majority distinctions based on race or class. An integrated society of racial equality in the United States is impossible if specific limitations are placed on black citizens, while excluding white ones. True equality must not only extend to the Afroamerican the right to full participation in virtuous endeavors but also the full right to the equal extent of the white nationalist class in some not so virtuous endeavors. Equality, total equality, must grant the black citizen the same right to be a devil or a god as the whites. It must grant him the same right of temper and the same right of self-defense as any other citizen. To limit the Afroamerican struggle to the narrow confines of non-violence, while the white oppressor class wages a violent struggle to maintain the status quo, is to invoke the principle of Jim Crow and its racial inequality. The power of nonviolence and love is a farce Socrates was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love. He died at the hands of violent men. Christ was nonviolent and he, too stressed love and nonviolence, he too, died a violent death. History is replete with examples of nonviolent men, as well as violent ones, who died from the power of violence either justified or unjustified. We have the case of millions of nonviolent Jews, who found meekness to be greatly inadequate in the face of ruthless and intemperate Nazi violence. The evil force of Nazism was not crushed by nonviolence and love but a fighting spirit, backed up by force and violence. The Christians, who were cast into the ancient lion pits were not saved by the power of nonviolence and love. Where is the example of the success of this power, of this nonviolence and love? The mystic principle of the power of nonviolence and love borders on the primitive poisonous snake-handling rituals of some religious cults.

The most noble of mankind must surely aspire for a human level of endeavor, wherein mankind can establish a utopian society divested of brute force and violence. The irony of this great dream is that if it is at all possible, it is

possible only through the medium of violence. It is possible only through Rev olution.

Many of the nonviolent preachers in North America tend to fuse Gandhism and Christianity. Their hybrid type of pacifism leans heavily on Christian teachings and on the bible, which threatens that the entire earth is to be destroyed by violent fire. Its **watchword** is the coming battle of Armageddon. Not a nonviolent battle but the most ferociously violent one ever staged. These advocates of the Christian power of nonviolence and love omit that part of the Old Testament which describes the evil subversion attempted by the devil when peaceful coexistence degenerated in Heaven to a state of open conflict wherein the Christian's God, the highest ideal of peace and love, ordered the devil forcibly ejected from the heavenly society. In removing the devil and his evil from menacing the peace of the ideal community, it is significant to note that God did not see fit to relegate such an important task to the realm of nonviolence. Why is the mortal Afroamerican expected to be more peaceful and loving towards his enemy than his divine God?

From the very earliest event of the African's chained arrival in the New World, he has been subjected to every form of brute force, systematic demoralization and dehumanization conceivable. The insensate slave masters left no stone unturned in conditioning oppressed blacks to meekly accept their miserable lot. The black man's fate was presented as being inseparable from the will of the white man. He was deliberately conditioned to base the prospects of his fortune on the Christian charity or conscience of the good white folks. Our people have never been allowed to forget that all significant power is in the hands of and under the control of the all-powerful and God chosen white man.

The lip agents, both black and white, of the white man's supremacy doctrine have been rapid and more than lavish in proclaiming the "white folks" as possessors of all the cannons, the bombs, the machine guns and the complete military establishment. This has been true and it is essentially true today, however, times have changed. These changes do not bear good tidings for the perennial and brutal oppressor, dehumanizer and exploiter of our people.

Our people's freedom spirit has been ossified by the continuous harangue of "we cannot possibly win a violent struggle of liberation." It is impossible for a people to rise above their aspirations. If we think we cannot win, we most certainly cannot. Our greatest enemy is our defeatest attitude. Our oppressor's greatest weapon of repression is his psychological apparatus by which he impregnates our people with a defeatist complex. Are we to concede the fact that racial oppression and tyranny prevail invincible and unshakable? Are we to concede to the unchallenged all mighty power of our dehumanizer, that he is the supreme benefactor of our freedom? Are we destined to forever kneel beggingly at his feet seeking the alms of liberty and justice?

The sweetest fruits of liberty are plucked by those who readily display boldness and daring. The cringing and the reluctant constitute the hindmost part of a civilization in constant transition. The defeatist voice of cynicism is the inevitable scum that litters the shore before all daring world-shaking exploits of embarcation. What would civilization resemble if all revolutionaries, inventors, adventurers and scientists had heeded the inevitable voices o f the doubting Thomases, who perennially admonish that every novel and daring exploit is predestined to fail? Ironically, the survival of the cynic and the conservative is assured by the dogged iconoclast.

Is it possible for a minority revolution to succeed in powerful America? The cynics, prophets of doom, and agents of the oppressive establishment maintain that to even raise such a question is insane. They energetically, with a clairvoyant air, assure us that violent self-defense or violent resistance to brutal racial oppression can lead only to suicide. How do they know? What is the basis of their logic? Are they any wiser than those cynics who brazenly stated that "man will never fly," that "it is impossible to cross the oceans," that "man

can never reach the speed of a mile a minute and survive," and that "the American Revolution can never succeed against the military might of the Crown?" How do they know that violent resistance on the part of our people will lead to suicide? Yes, they have been conditioned to accept America's racist tyranny as a condition bound to prevail until the tyrant himself elects to abandon the throne of tyranny. They are more than resigned to the premise that white supremacy might is the God of the fate and destiny of oppressed black humanity.

Yes, a minority revoltuion has as much, or more, chance of succeeding in the racist USA as any place else in the world. At the very outset, all revolutions are minority revolutions. In the early stages cynics think that all revolutions have a very remote chance of succeeding. Revolutionaries display a propensity to accomplish the impossible. Is the Afroamerican revolution to be an exception? Do we subscribe to the premise of white supremacy? Is it because the oppressor is white and the oppressed is black that most of the world accepts the premise that our struggle must be white-led and supported by the majority race or that it is insignificant and doomed to failure?

The fact of the matter is that the Afroamerican wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the USA today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the cutlets of feet and tail. The vast majority of the whites have also been mentally poisoned with racism. It is asinine to expect them to recover from their race psychosis without a severe shock treatment.

The American society is a highly industrialized complex. A highly industrialized and mechanized system is also a very sensitive one. The more machinery required to serve a community, the greater the incidence of mechanical breakdown. The more dependent a community is on mechanization, the more important it is for the wheels of industry to perpetually turn smoothly. Social systems, like biological systems, tend to adjust to environmental conditions and requirements. The American society, over a long period of time, has adjusted itself to a high rate of productivity directly bearing of the relativity of consumption.

The physical conditioning of a society also manifests certain relative psychological traits. The American mind has been conditioned to think of great calamities, wars and revolutionary upheavals as taking place on distant soil. Because of the vast upper and middle classes in the USA, that have grown accustomed to comfortable living, the nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society. The soft society is highly susceptible to panic.

Afroamericans have long sought a peaceful solution to the race question. It is more than obvious that a people, who have manifested and unshakable faith in the vain hope that the government would eventually grant citizenship and justice, prefers a peaceful solution. Our people have dreamed and prayed for a peaceful transition from slavery to first class citizenship and human dignity. Peaceful evolution, through the mediums of legislation, law and negotiation are the methods that have been pursued for almost 200 years under the present government. The results are bitter and frustrating indeed. The orderly social process has been stymied by savage violence and brute force.

Instead of the majority race extending brotherhood and justice, it has resorted to a campaign of a massive drive aimed at extermination. The fascist elements are arming, not to liberate our brutally oppressed people but to liquidate us. It is becoming next to impossible for Negroes to conduct a "peaceful" demonstration in America. A Civil Rights Bill will have no more effect than the U.S. Constitution. What is integration when the law says yes, but the police and howling mobs say no? Our only logical and successful answer is to meet organized and massive violence with massive and organized

violence. Our people must prepare to wage an urban guerrilla war of self-defense. Self-defense developes to the stage wherein the source of evil and terror must be eliminated.

In Monroe, North Carolina (the first instance wherein highly organized self-defense units supplemented nonviolent tactics and reduced the incidence of resulting terror) our force of defense was adequate in staving off local attacks. We had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes. The fault, however, lay in the fact that we had an isolated force without extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the state reinforcements moving in to overpower us. Our self-defense forces had to remain purely static and defensive. The Monroe explosion came prematurely because of our shift in emphasis from self-defense to publicly overemphasizing nonviolence. The racists seized this time of weakness and confusion to launch an attack to annihilate our forces. A six year effective self-defense campaign terminated in ill-fated untimely experiment with nonviolence. The organization of external forces was just being conceived. A decision was made to spare the city thus avoiding an all-out confrontation prematurely. The town would have been destroyed but our defense forces would have been crushed by external power, and the state and white supremacists would have used the example to intimidate other advocates of self-defense. The racist news media would have portrayed the entire operation as one conducted by psychotic extremists.

The lesson of Monroe teaches that effective self-defense, on the part of our brutally oppressed and terrorized people, requires massive organization with central coordination. External oppressive forces must not be allowed to relieve the beseiged racist terrorists. The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, lights mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instructions on usage.

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tank on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven throught boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turn-pikes. Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorus matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.

Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study, however, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was. Yes, a minority war of self-defense can succeed. The Afroamerican can win. We need not submit, passively to racist extermination and brutality. The race question is America's Achilles heel. America's great abundance is what makes America America, without it she would be a wretched land of chaos. Her economy is already under stress and her military might is spread out too thinly throughout the world.

The bourgeoisie has very little stomach for massive blood and violence. They love their property, the source of their power and wealth. They are highly susceptible to panic. The majority white supremacists do not command the

loyalty of the entire race. There are a few John Brown type students and militants.

Afroamericans must remember that such a campaign of massive self-defense should not be based upon a lust for sadistical gratification. It cannot be a campaign for vengeance, however, sweet and deserving vengeance may be. Such a campaign of self-defense and survival must be based on the righteous cause of justice. It must not be anti-white but anti-oppression and injustice. Uncle Toms should be as much a target as racist whites.

Like it or not, we cannot escape the trend of history. The hour is fast approaching when our people must make a decision to meekly submit to fascist forces of terror and extermination or surge forth to the battle to liberate ourselves, save America and liquidate its domestic enemies. If we truly seek freedom and human dignity we must be willing to pay for it in the fashion of the Algerians. Great multitudes of our people must be willing to fight and die in America's true cause and committment to her Constitution, democratic principles and the rights of man, and for a victory that will not " . . . turn to ashes in our mouths," but to eternal freedom and happiness in our hearts. Such a victory would truly make the world safe for democracy. It would secure the world from extermination by hydrogen war. Not only is America's peace and security involved but also the peace and security of the whole world.

The horrible nightmare of massive violence need not fall upon the American scene. It can be staved off by the birth of a sincere spirit of humanity, dedicated to the proposition of brotherhood, peace and security.

When a brutally oppressed and dehumanize people are denied the peaceful channels through which to activate redress, and when their peaceful petitions are answered with ruthless violence, the only recourse left to them is to meet violence with violence.

We do not advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. We merely advocate self-defense for brutalized Afroamericans. If in the process of executing our Constitutional and God-given right of self-defense, the racist U.S. Government, which refuses to protect our people, is destroyed, the end result stems from certain historical factors of social relativity.

" . . . This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constiutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it . . . If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in any moral point of view, justify revolution . . . " Abraham Lincoln, 1861.

The oppressors's heart is hard. The experience of history teaches that he only relents under violent pressure and force. There is very little hope that he will see the handwriting on the wall before it is too late. This year, 1964 is going to be a violent one, the storm will reach hurricane proportions by 1965 and the eye of the hurricane will hover over America by 1966. America is a house on fire — FREEDOM NOW! — or let it burn, let it burn. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!!!

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ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, P. O. Box 6185, Havana, Cuba.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA—Police used violence in Sydney on May 6, 1964 to break up a peaceful, sit-down demonstration by University students outside the United States Consulate. The students were protesting against racial discrimination in the United States. More than 50 students were arrested.

KOBE, JAPAN — The Association of Negro Studies, an organization of Japanese intellectuals and students, is celebrating its tenth anniversary in June. The Association was established ten years ago among progressive students and

professors in Japan who are interested in the affairs and problems of the Negro people. It is not only an academic research group but it moves against any racial discrimination and participates in democratization movements in Japan. They send delegates to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Congresses and cooperate with the Japanese Committee: Anti-Racial Discrimination in South Africa. The Kobe-City University society, aside from these activities, publishes a quarterly bulletin which brings up-to-date information to the Japanese people on the liberation struggle of Afroamericans and includes literary works by Negroes and historical informative articles in the Japanese language.

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"Oppressed peoples in a less developed country, made desperate by tyranny and corruption, are not going to be deterred from getting rid on an objectionable government on the ground that it might upset the balance of power between the Great Powers. People struggling to free themselves from colonial oppression are going to get help wherever they can find it. People artificially divided in the interest of the balance of power are going to continue to strive for reunification, and those suffering from racial discrimination are going to end it irrespective of the interests of those powers.

—KWAME NKRUMAH

CONTRIBUTIONS NEEDED FOR LEGAL DEFENSE

PROTEST the Ku Klux Klan frame-up of the Monroe, N.C. Defendants. These innocent freedom fighters have been falsely accused of kinapping a racist white counple during a race riot which flared when rabid racists attacket peaceful human rights pickets. The kangaroo court at Monroe, an instrument of white supremacy vengeance and degradation of black Americans, has brutally and unjustly sentenced to prison: MRS. WILLIE MAE MALLORY 16-20 years, RICHARD CROWDER 7-10 years, HAROLD REAPE 5-7 years and JOHN LOWERY 3-5 years.

Negroes have less chance for justice at the hands of such racist savages, who preside over these kangaroo courts, than common street dogs. Send letters of PROTEST to: THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, Washington 25, D.C., Gov. Terry Sanford, Governor's Mansion, Raliegh, North Carolina, and to United States Embassies in foreign countries.

THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 605 BROWN STREET, MONROE, N.C. urgently needs financial contributions. CONTRIBUTE NOW to the cause of justice and for the missionary work of civilizing the social jungle and the white savages of Monroe, North Carolina.

"I have come to the conclusion that violence is inevitable and it will be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue a non-violent policy when the Government meets our demands with violence".

—NELSON MANDELA, South African Nationalist Leader.

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